

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 SP-02 INR-07 INRE-00
IO-13 NSCE-00 EUR-12 CCO-00 /060 W
-----072661 050745Z /14-L

O P 050617Z JAN 78 ZFF-6
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN PARIS
TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 SECTO 13098

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY) XW, IV, SO
SUBJ: ENCLOSURE TO IVORY COAST PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO
PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: SECTO 13088

1. FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF PRESIDENT SIAD
BARRE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, DATED
NOVEMBER 24, 1977, AND ENCLOSED IN HOUPHOUET'S LETTER
TO PRESIDENT CARTER, SENT SEPTTEL:

BEGIN TEXT.
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT AND DEAR BROTHER,
I AM REPLYING TODAY, ADMITTEDLY WITH A CERTAIN TARDI-
NESS, TO YOUR MOST APPRECIATED MESSAGE OF OCTOBER 28,
1977, BUT I AM QUITE SURE THAT YOU WILL FORGIVE ME
SINCE YOU KNOW OF THE DILEMMA WHICH WE ARE NOW
EXPERIENCING.

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I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT I HAVE RECEIVED NO LETTER FROM
ANY CHIEF OF STATE IN THE WORLD WHICH WAS MORE SINCERE
AND PROFOUND THAN YOURS AND MORE RICH IN ADVICE, WHICH
WE HAVE WELCOMED AND WHICH WE WILL TAKE ACCOUNT OF. MY
LETTER OF TODAY, THEREFORE, TRANSMITS TO YOU MY MOST
SINCERE THANKS FOR THE COMFORT WHICH YOU HAVE OFFERED
ME IN THIS MOST DIFFICULT HOUR WHEN THE SENSE OF

NATIONAL DUTY HAS FORCED ME TO TAKE DECISIONS THAT ARE DIFFICULT AND LOADED WITH RISKS AND INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES IN THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY AREAS.

I WISH TO INFORM YOU, HOWEVER, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT ALTHOUGH THE WEST HAS OBTAINED THE GUARANTEE OF WHICH WE SPOKE AT THE TIME OF MY OFFICIAL VISIT--A MOST UNFORGETTABLE ONE TO YOUR BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY--OUR WORRIES ARE NOT YET QUIETED AND THE CURRENT ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IS FAR FROM REASSURING. I AM QUITE CERTAIN THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VICTORY OF THE WESTERN STRATEGY IN SUCH A SHORT TIME IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, THE RED SEA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN DOES NOT ESCAPE YOU, NOR DOES THE FACT THAT THIS SUCCESS IS DUE TO THE SACRIFICE OF THE SOMALI PEOPLE; DESPITE THAT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IS THREATENED MORE THAN EVER. IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT I AM ADDRESSING THIS NEW APPEAL TO YOU IN THE HOPE THAT THIS REAL AND EVER INCREASING THREAT AGAINST OUR SECURITY IS WEAKENING THOSE OF THE EFFORTS WHICH YOU HAVE UNDERTAKEN VIS-A-VIS YOUR WESTERN FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES.

OUR RECENT DECISION TO INVITE THE USSR TO REMOVE FROM SOMALIA ALL OF ITS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY EXPERTS AS WELL AS TO EXPEL ALL THE FACILITIES WHICH IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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ENJOYING IN ALL OF OUR PORTS AND AIRPORTS WAS TAKEN ONLY WITH THE SIMPLE AIM OF SAFEGUARDING PEACE AND SECURITY IN OUR REGION, PEACE AND SECURITY WHICH WAS MENACED BY THE MACHIAVELLIAN DESIGNS OF THE USSR. THIS SOVIET PLAN FORESAW IN FACT THE DESTABILIZATION OF THE RIPARIAN STATES OF THE RED SEA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN.

THE SOVIET UNION INVITED SOMALIA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REALIZATION OF THIS PLAN; SOMALIA NOT ONLY DID NOT GO ALONG WITH THE SOVIET PROPOSAL BUT ON THE CONTRARY DECIDED TO UNDERTAKE ACTION TO BLOCK IT. I THEREFORE MADE SEVERAL OFFICIAL VISITS AND PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES OF THE RED SEA AND THE GULF.

IT WAS THEN THAT THE SOVIET UNION BEGAN TO MANIFEST ITS HOSTILITY IN REGARD TO OUR COUNTRY, ORCHESTRATING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 SECTO 13098

THE ACTION OF ITS COMMUNIST SATELLITES, BOTH EUROPEAN
AND NON-EUROPEAN, AGAINST US IN CONVOYING AND SHIPPING
TROOPS AND EXPERTS TO ETHIOPIA.

UNDER THE PRETEXT OF AID TO REVOLUTIONARY ETHIOPIA,
THE SOVIET UNION CONCLUDED A HOLY ALLIANCE WITH THE
CUBANS, EAST GERMANS, SOUTH YEMENIS, CZECHS, ETC. IN
ORDER TO HAVE ITS OWN STRATEGY TRIUMPH IN THE REGION OF
THE RED SEA, INDIAN OCEAN AND ALSO HAVE THIS MATERIAL
AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WEST.

CONSCIOUS OF THIS DANGEROUS MANEUVER, SOMALIA
REACTED AND ATTEMPTED TO CONVINCE THE USSR TO MODIFY
ITS VISION OF THE FUTURE; IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE HOWEVER
FOR SOMALIA TO SUCCEED IN MAKING THE USSR DESIST. OUR
ACTION ONLY RESULTED IN THE LAUNCHING OF A VICIOUS
ANTI-SOMALIA CAMPAIGN IN THE SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVE
AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND ELSEWHERE WITH THE AIM OF DIS-
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CREDITING US, LOWERING OUR PRESTIGE AND OF ISOLATING
US.

10. THE USSR PURSUED THE ANTI-SOMALIA CAMPAIGN ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, ACCUSING US UNJUSTLY OF AGGRESSION AGAINST ETHIOPIA AND MAKING US RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WAR AGAINST ETHIOPIA, BY DENYING THEREBY THE MOST ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF THE POPULATIONS WHICH WERE SEEKING LEGITIMATELY TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM ETHIOPIAN COLONIALISM AND THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. THE SOLI POPULATION, THE ERITREANS AND OTHERS, ALL STRUGGLING AGAINST ETHIOPIA AND THOSE WHO AID ETHIOPIA.

IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF ETHIOPIA, EASTERN SOMALIA, ERITREA AND OTHERS, AS WELL AS THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH ASSIST THEM REPRESENT AN OBSTACLE TO THE REALIZATION OF THE SOVIET PLAN. THEY ARE THEREFORE ENEMIES TO BE ELIMINATED AS FAR AS THE USSR IS CONCERNED AND IT IS THIS THAT SOMALIA RESISTS TODAY. THIS CONFLICT WHICH MENACES EAST AFRICA AND THE RED SEA IS CARRIED ON IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA INSTEAD OF SEARCHING FOR A PEACEFUL AND LASTING SOLUTION OF A SORT WHICH WOULD GIVE SATISFACTION TO THE INTERESTED PARTIES.

TO END THIS CHAPTER, I WOULD LIKE TO RECALL TO YOU THAT THE SOVIET UNION -- APART FROM THE FACT THAT IT IS PROVIDING ULTRA-MODERN MATERIEL TO SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARY ETHIOPIA, WHOSE CURRENT LEADERS HAVE SHOWN ON MANY OCCASIONS THEIR TOTAL LACK OF POLITICAL REALISM AND IRRESPONSIBILITY -- IS ALSO FINANCING THE MASSIVE INTERVENTION OF CUBA, SOUTH YEMEN AND ITS EASTERN EUROPEAN SATELLITES; BUT THIS IS NOT ALL, CONFIDENTIAL

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BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF IS PHYSICALLY PRESENT IN THIS WAR WHICH IT CREATED AND WHICH IT NEVER CEASED TO SUPPLY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ITS ENDS. THIS INTERVENTION IS CONTRARY TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE REGION, IT IS CONTRARY TO THE VERY EXISTENCE OF THE SOMALIAN STATE AND IT IS CONTRARY TO THE SACROSANCT GOALS OF PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

IT IS IN THE LIGHT OF THIS DRAMATIC REALITY WHICH PREVAILS IN OUR REGION THAT I HAVE MADE THE DRACONIAN DECISION OF WHICH YOU ARE AWARE, AFTER WE HAD LEARNED THAT THE USSR CONCEIVED OF THE PLAN FOR AN INVASION FROM THE NORTH OF SOMALIA TO THE SEA, A PLAN WHICH WERE IT TO MATERIALIZE WOULD FORCE SOMALIA TO ACCEPT TOMORROW, UNDER CONDITIONS DICTATED BY THE SOVIET UNION, A SERVILE ETHIOPIA ONLY SERVING AS A COVER IN THIS REGARD. WE TOOK OUR DECISION BECAUSE WE ESTIMATED THAT IT WAS

OUR MOST SACRED DUTY TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO PUT AN
END TO THIS DIABOLICAL PLAN AND TO AVOID THEREBY A COST-
LY AND DISASTROUS INTERNATIONAL CONFLAGRATION.

AS FAR AS THE DIFFERENT TERRITORIES BETWEEN SOMALIA
AND ITS NEIGHBORS ARE CONCERNED, I AM SURE THAT YOU WILL
RECALL THAT DURING OUR MEETING IN YOUR RESIDENCE IN
1974, I ILLUSTRATED TO YOU OUR POINT OF VIEW AS TO THE
JURIDICAL AND HISTORICAL DIFFERENCE BY THE PRESENCE OF
KENYA IN ONE PART OF SOMALIA AND THAT OF ETHIOPIA IN
ANOTHER PART OF SOMALIA. I THEREBY PLACED IN EVIDENCE
THAT ETHIOPIA WAS A COLONIAL POWER IN THAT IT PARTICI-
PATED IN THE DISMEMBERMENT OF SOMALIA AND SIGNED THE
ACCORDS DELIMITING THE ZONE OF INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENT
COLONIAL POWERS IN SOMALIA -- WHILE KENYA SIMPLY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 SECTO 13098

INHERITED FROM GREAT BRITAIN IN 1963 A PART OF THE
SOMALI NATION. WE HAVE EXPRESSED TO OUR KENYAN
BROTHER ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS AND ON VARIOUS POLITICAL
LEVELS, OUR POINT OF VIEW IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, A QUESTION
WHICH WE ON OUR PART HAVE ALWAYS ATTEMPTED TO SOLVE IN
A PEACEFUL MANNER BETWEEN AFRICAN BROTHERS AND

NEIGHBORS.

I WILL NOT DELAY ON THIS PROBLEM WHICH CONTRIBUTES TO THE INCREASING OF TENSION IN THE REGION AND WHICH VIOLATES THE SOVIET PLAN AND IS THEREFORE HARMFUL TO THE WEST AND TO THE COUNTRIES DIRECTLY INTERESTED. BUT I HAVE STRUGGLED TO ASSURE THAT WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING IN ORDER TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND SOMALIA. I HAVE IN THIS REGARD SENT TO KENYA DIFFERENT HIGH-LEVEL SOMALI DELEGATIONS, EACH OF THEM CHARGED TO DELIVER A PERSONAL
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MESSAGE TO THE KENYAN CHIEF OF STATE. AMONG THESE SOMALIS ARE THE VICE PRESIDENT, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND VARIOUS OTHER MINISTERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. I WENT PERSONALLY TO KENYA WHERE I MET WITH IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. I HAVE MET SEVERAL TIMES AT MY REQUEST WITH THE KENYAN AMBASSADOR TO MOGADISCIO. I HAVE ALSO MET, ALWAYS WITH THE SAME AIM, THE AMBASSADORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN. ALL OF THESE APPROACHES CAN ONLY PROVE THAT OUR SINCERE DESIRE IS TO AVOID AT ANY PRICE THE CONFLICT WITH OUR BROTHER COUNTRIES. UNFORTUNATELY, IN SPITE OF OUR OBVIOUS GOAL WE ARE HAVING TO UNDERGO PROVOCATION FROM KENYA TO WHICH WE HAVE REACTED ONLY BY MAKING NEW EFFORTS SO AS TO PREVENT THE DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

IN ORDER TO PROVE TO YOU OUR UNRESERVED CONTROL AND OUR REFUSAL OF EVENTUAL AGGRESSION AGAINST KENYA, I WOULD LIKE TO DETAIL TO YOU THAT WE ARE PREPARED TODAY THROUGH AN INTERMEDIARY TO SIGN A PACT OF NON-AGGRESSION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES DESPITE THE FACT THAT AT THE MOMENT I AM WRITING THIS LETTER WE HAVE FORMAL PROOF AND PRECISE INFORMATION ON JOINT ETHIOPIAN-KENYAN OPERATIONS AGAINST SOMALIA WHICH MEANS THAT KENYA IS CONTRIBUTING UNCONSCIOUSLY TO THE REALIZATION OF THE SOVIET PLAN IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, A DANGEROUS GAME TO WHICH SOMALIA REFUSES CATEGORICALLY TO LEND ITSELF.

I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOU THAT MY AMBASSADOR MOHAMED SAID SAMANANTAR HAS SENT ME THE EARLIER ORAL MESSAGE WHICH YOU SO KINDLY ADDRESSED TO ME INDICATING YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE DIFFICULT POSITION THAT I AM HAVING TO
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UNDERTAKE IN THIS PART OF EAST AFRICA. AMBASSADOR
SAMANTAR WHO ENJOYS MY ENTIRE CONFIDENCE AND WHO
WILL BE MY SPOKESMAN TO YOU WILL ALSO BE TRANSMITTING
TO YOU EVERYTHING THAT I WAS NOT ABLE TO PUT IN THIS
LETTER.

(COMPLIMENTARY CLOSE)
GENERAL MOHAMED SIAD BARRE
PRESIDENT
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SOMALIA

2. ORIGINAL OF ENCLOSURE BEING CARRIED TO
WASHINGTON BY SECRETARIAT STAFF. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978SECTO13098
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780008-0024
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780196/aaaaddch.tel
Line Count: 346
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
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Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 SECTO 13088
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3824017
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ENCLOSURE TO IVORY COAST PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER
TAGS: OVIP, PPDC, XW, SO, IV, US, (CARTER, JIMMY), (HUPHOUET-BOIGNY, FELIX)
To: ABIDJAN MOGADISCIO
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0ece8be6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014